1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually, several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

252 Most village women are proud of their abilities as cooks.
462 Several village men are also extremely skilled, hiring out
[463] as cooks on special occasions and almost every village man can prepare an adequate meal. Some men cook quite often in their homes although their wives were considered the regular cooks. When a woman is working for wages on a job while the man is home early, he will often prepare dinner. Also, if a wife is sick, a man will substitute in the kitchen if there is no other adult female kinsman in the household. There are only a few men who have never substituted as cooks for their wives. Nevertheless, when a man cooks for either special occasions or as a substitute, women will almost always clean the kitchen and wash the dishes.

263 Peanut oil, ginger, soy sauce, red sauce, and
252 monosodium glutamate are important items in cooking. Most dishes are combinations of various ingredients and spices. It is often jokingly stated that no Chinese dish is composed of less than ten items. Cooking techniques include sauteing, deep frying, and steaming. Of course, boiling is important for soups.

271 Water can not be consumed without boiling it first.
272 Since Sanlei was a tea processing village, tea usually replaces plain boiled water. However, the tea is usually very weak and of poorer grades; a single set of tea leaves
273 was reused several times. Wine or beer is for special occasions only although there are a couple of men in the

area who drink often. Spirits were never supposed to be consumed without simultaneously eating. The village stores also stock soft drinks but these too tend to be reserved for special occasions. Soft drinks and spirits are provided at all banquets.

There were two kinds of days, sharply contrasted in the kinds and quantities of food: regular days and special days. The special days were the religious holidays and special life crises events, i.e., marriage, engagement, funeral, certain birthdays, etc. One set of religious holidays occurred twice each month on the lunar calendar (see Chapter VIII). The other holidays were on regular dates, rarely less than at least one each month. On special days the food was rich, dinner usually including pork, fish, and fowl, whereas the diet previously described was for regular days.

On special days, there was a tendency for people to eat dinner together at a table. Often, eating had to be in shifts for few households had more than one table while some families were quite large (see Chapter V). Most of the time, eating is during a single time period but in a haphazard fashion. Each person gets food in the kitchen from the cook and eats at the table or perhaps, out in the courtyard. Men are supposed to eat first, but it appears that small children are usually first. While most meals are eaten at home, lunch is occasionally eaten in the